612 621 622 631 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 621 This striving is always directed primarily against the other group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

[634] The only related group in the adat community which occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate [567]

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

794 796 602 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous, [622] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa" [634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

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1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

634 612 621 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua. When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to [361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

571 612 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the [278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie [764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

● 634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are [782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

• 634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

241 634 778 Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 602 182 A summary of the above yields the following result:

By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

565 643 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status characteristics.

/99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous. The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung) at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this, for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown among members of the lower groups of relatives. But difficulties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum (ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his [534] opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 634 643 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two adat community heads of Borongloë stood on the "Flat Rock"

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
●634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[77] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

[554 466]

3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig
(bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same
time the cars and eyes of their master. They report to him
everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner
clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority
must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign
of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so
serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately
existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[602] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had re-
mained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

554 The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
571 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
602 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
634 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

554 According to reports, the number of followers of the
565 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
571 whose previous generation also worked for this group of relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

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1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these
[582] qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng. Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

621 622 66 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in the case. Their help is of importance because (although this is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they declare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 662 634 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately result in a power formation within the adat community, which the adat community head does not like to see. To an even greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat community/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known, the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

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177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the [626] first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

622 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent
602 members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves
662 in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside
602 his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own
662 group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

602 /126 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampung
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

634 Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
661 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
643 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
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1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

602
/128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities, even though in this position they merely carried out the commands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant," said one of them.

In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for [684 this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing 694] Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work [554 and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These ornaments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was probably the only native jurisdictional community on southern Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornamentships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature 641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

[114] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the 582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy 583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

I [126 cont.]
544 Regulations the holding of cockfights is prohibited on penalty
673 of a fine of 16-25 guilders, with the alternative of 7-12 days compulsory labor. This does not alter the fact, however, that
MK cockfights are clandestinely held everywhere and on many oc-
541 casions. Naturally, this prohibition does not apply to those areas
673 where the sovereigns have self-government, such as in the states
634 of southern Celebes.

j. Quail Fights

I
541 The quail is called gĕmak or puju; quail fights are known
525 as ngadu gĕmak. Only females are used for quail fights, because they are more beautiful, stronger, and more courageous than the males. The fights take place in a cage, pĕngadon, literally, "fighting place," which is five decimeters high and 7.5 decimeters long, with very thin bars. Both quails are put in the pĕngadon at the same time and immediately begin to fight furiously, both birds trying to hit or stab each other, especially around the eyes and ears. The fight lasts until one falls back. Here, too, betting is primary (1).

1. Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.

k. Cricket Fights

At cricket fights, ngadu-djangkrik only the males do the fighting. They are first tamed by letting them hang horizontally by means of a thread tied around their bodies for 24 hours and after that by holding them under water to make them unconscious. In this condition they are put in a small bamboo tube where they soon come to. The fights take place in a little basket, also called pĕngadon, which is divided into two parts by a sliding

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

● 634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.